

# THE BLACK PANTHER

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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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"Without A  
People's Army,  
The People  
Have Nothing."

CHAIRMAN MAO--  
PEOPLES' REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA



# BLACK PANTHERS



Eldridge



Huey

*Leon Calista*

THIS POSTER WAS DONE BY YOUNG 15 YEAR-OLD REVOLUTIONARY SISTER LYNN CELESTE.

## THE POWER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Cec Levinson

It is an indisputable fact that the Black Colony confined within the boundaries of these less-than-united-states, in fighting for its own liberation from imperialist oppression is leading the movement for basic economic and political change which will ultimately free the entire working class. Today, in this historical period, the Black Panther Party has proven, by its phenomenal growth, by the acceptance of its program by a growing segment of the Black population, that it is the emerging political leader of the Black Colony, which signifies that it is providing the leadership of the revolutionary forces in this country.

I, a white revolutionary, if I am to be true to my ideals and stated goals, must accept the leadership of the accepted leader of the revolutionary forces, the Black Panther Party.

Why am I so sure that the Panther Party has the correct program for today's struggle against U.S. imperialism? The effectiveness of a political program lies in its value as proven in day-to-day testing in the community, in its acceptance by an ever-increasing number of the people it is designed to lead; both of which assure its ultimate victory. We cannot, of course, prove an "ultimate victory", but we can attempt to determine whether we're heading in that direction.

In building a revolution, there are 2 essentials: to organize for the attainment of the immediate needs of the working people and the constant developing of a revolutionary consciousness toward that inevitable day when we'll destroy this monstrous capitalist power structure and begin building a socialist-people's world. What is needed is a reconciliation of

tactics (the daily struggle for immediate gains) and theory (knowledge that an basic change in the class structure will be achieved under capitalism, that a revolution must be fought.) It is evident from studying the history of organizations and political parties born during the last century, that continuing struggles on both levels is difficult. Every group, to my knowledge, conceived in this country with revolutionary objectives has either fallen into the capitalistic abyss of reformism and been drowned in the infected mire of attempting to "make it" in this decaying system - (finally, the "leaders" "make it" while the less membership is left to float about looking for another base, or just to forget it!) - or the entire group has been left out in the vacuum of revolutionary rhetoric: isolation from the people.

The Communist Party of the U.S. is a classic example of revolutionary beginnings. It was the first to recognize the colonial status of Black people, calling for self-determination for what it termed The Negro Nation in the Black Belt of the south. It was only half a theory, failing to encompass the entire Black Colony spread throughout the many states in the swelling urban ghettos of the north, but it did recognize the innate colonial super-exploitation by the white power structure. It knew the need and carried forth a program to organize southern share-croppers and tenant-farmers in their desperate need for land. Many communists were killed in attempting to organize the miners (Joe Hill, the poet who sang, "Don't mess for no, Organize!") and workers in other basic industries in the south. Above all, the CPUSA recognized the international character of anti-

imperialistic struggle and many of them fought and died in the Spanish Civil War, anticipating, correctly the rise of fascism in Europe should Franco succeed in overthrowing the then democratic Spanish government. The CP was the foremost fighter for Black studies and, most basic of all, understood the need for a black-white labor coalition. However, and sadly because this is the barest outline of a proud, heroic history, somewhere along the road of fighting for these necessary and immediate demands, many U.S. communists got trapped in the capitalistic bag of profit-making and became themselves, the exploiters, now engaging in reformist activity, if any at all. Unlike other organizations, it wasn't the leaders, most of whom had been born of the working class and strengthened through union organizing in steel mills and coal mines and southern agriculture, who turned tail on their revolutionary objectives. The CP itself recognized the failure of all this in 1948 with its support of the Progressive Party.

There are exceptions, and the Panthers have among today's CPers, many active and/or verbal - mostly Black - supporters. Perhaps the most notable is the great lawyer, William Patterson, defender of the Scottsboro Boys and writer of the original WE CHARGE GENOCIDE petition presented to the United Nations in 1961. And the communists had an international as well as a local level something else we must all learn, an essential factor lacking among U.S. "revolutionists" of today without which there will be no revolution. There was always, a deep, real, penetrating feeling of brotherhood between them, and an ever-present love for the people with whom

they worked. It was this feeling of being needed, of belonging, generated particularly from the leadership in working class areas that propelled the Party through the horror of the McCarthy period. We all need to feel useful, if not vital to the movement; fighting alone is insanity and leads towards emotional, sometimes, physical death.

But perhaps the other end of the rope (used by the enemy to hang dissenters) is more meaningful, closer to us active in the movement today. Here we find dangling several ghastly illusions: organizations replete with those who scream REVOLUTION with every breath but who have so alienated themselves from the people as to have become virtually ineffective. The Yippies are a prime example. They are dedicated, I am sure, to their cause; they appear ready, at a moment's notice to sacrifice years in prison, perhaps their lives. But we don't need any more headline-making martyrs. Self-sacrifice is often necessary to provide the initial impetus for a movement. It is sometimes true that people will act only in the aftermath of horror, if they are not completely immobilized. But today, we need organizers: doorbell-ringing, sidewalk pounding, people-loving organizers.

It is essential that we know our enemy and understand fully the strategy it employs to sabotage our revolutionary efforts. The ruling class pursues a razor-sharp, double-edged policy of counter-insurgency: on one jagged side, there are concessions - to encourage reformism; on the other, repression - to discourage rebellion.

The first weapon is used primarily in these traditional ways:

tokenism to the Black bourgeois, financial crumbs to the upper strata of the working class, the skilled workers, and a constant attempt to buy off militant leaders. In the last several years - in the aftermath of the southern student demonstrations and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's state-wide organizing and challenge at the National Democratic Convention in 1964 - a 4th, most insidiously clever method has appeared and thrived to such an extent as to have stifled much revolutionary activity. This is the infamous Poverty Program in all its varied forms and hundreds of initiated extremists. But whatever the initials, wherever it shows its smothering grip, it has but one purpose: to buy the people's souls in a compromise with capitalism; to keep them so busy attending endless, meaningless meetings, "skill center" classes which end where they began - no jobs, and the people fighting among themselves for these sometimes lucrative, most often, peanuts - positions; so busy, there is no time for appraisal of the busywork, let alone revolutionary study or activity. This is the only country in the world with the financial resources to fight for its life by throwing money to thousands of its citizens. (Think of the schools we could build, the food we could buy, the jobs we could guarantee, dividing up the \$70 billion plus flushed down the drain every year!) This is the fattest, deadliest sabotage we have in combat. It is imperative that the message get to the people: Take the money - Hell, Yes! Let it pay the rent and buy food and clothes and movies and scotch, but not your soul! Take the money. Fight the fascist

Continued on Page 3





## Harassment As Usual In Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (LNS) — Jackson has never been an easy place to be a black militant, or a black non-militant, for that matter. Several recent incidents there indicate that police and F.B.I. are continuing a concerted attack on black people's movements for liberation.

Muhammed Kenyatta is a teacher at the Black and Proud School and an organizer of black awareness projects at Tougaloo College and in the Georgetown community in Jackson. Shortly after he spoke at a rally on Feb. 6, he narrowly escaped death when shots were fired through the front windows of his car. Tougaloo College officials claimed that the shooting was in response to the attempted robbery of a men's dorm and filed attempted robbery charges against Kenyatta. Kenyatta voluntarily turned himself in to the police,

as "an expression of my belief that my innocence will be proved." Students at Tougaloo are campaigning to have the case tried by the student body rather than by the white judge in Madison County.

The rally at which Kenyatta spoke was part of an effort to get a black studies program at Tougaloo. Tougaloo has a history of white liberal teachers and administrators controlling a black student body. Last year, when students' demands for a black-oriented social science curriculum and more black professors were refused, students boycotted classes and threatened to burn down the building which contains the offices of the faculty and administration. The students won a partial victory, but part of the building they threatened was recently gutted in an unplanned

fire.

Howard Spencer, director of the Black and Proud Liberation School and the Jackson Human Rights Project has been constantly harassed by groups of white men identifying themselves as F.B.I. agents. Recently, Jackson police singled him out in a bar and charged him with drunkenness, possession of marijuana, and possession of a concealed weapon. Spencer says the arrest was a frame-up and part of a pattern of police action against him because of his activities.

Despite threats from the cops, an educational campaign in support of Spencer and Muhammad Kenyatta is being conducted in the black community in Jackson. In response, 50 cops and 49 vehicles have been added to the scene patrolling Jackson's black community.

(cont. from page 2)

## The Power of the Black Panther Party

When all these tranquilizing methods fail, there are the ever-ready methods of repression: harassment, terror, prison, murder. Each sides of the knife work to an increasing degree due to the Poverty Program in the Black community; to a strangulating degree in the white community. There, their lives - their minds - are bound so tightly to the capitalist soul-shrinking system that they can see no other possibility, and as revolutionary orientation is practically non-existent, education and propaganda are the current regulations. We must convince them that the present system is incurably felonious and that a better one is possible. I think that the Oakland 7 is amassing the support they did for Stop The Draft Week and the work they have carried on since their arrests have been of tremendous educational value against the system, showing its corrupt officialdom in all its treachery. As a matter of history, this past year has provided numerous educational shocks for the uneducated white North American populace. In Chicago, Mayor Daley mistreated many an uneducated liberal (and reluctant conservative) into courses on fascism and the students, notably at Columbia, S.F. State and most recently, Berkeley, in their courageous confrontation with the domestic military arm of imperialism have made invaluable contributions to the anti-establishment education of white America.

But there has never been an organization that could build a revolutionary movement BY WAY

OF fighting on (issues vital to the day-to-day survival of the working class. What must be done is to carry on continuous struggle, through which the people learn, become politically mature and thereby more revolutionary; struggles that accomplish many little changes (Geras called them "quantitative changes"), the fighting for which forges the mighty hurricane of which Huey speaks, the People's Revolutionary Army, which in fulfilling its destiny, achieves the "qualitative change", the Revolution.

(TO BE CONTINUED: In the next issue, I will attempt to prove why I believe the BPP can fulfill this double role.)

## Teen Black Girl Faces Execution

Special to the Daily World  
ROCKY MOUNT, N.C., Jan. 1 — Date of execution of Marie Hill, a 17-year-old black Rocky Mount girl, set for Jan. 2, has been automatically delayed pending the outcome of an appeal by Vernon Strum, her court-appointed attorney.

The teen-age girl was railroaded under dubious circumstances to the North Carolina gas chamber Dec. 19 on charges of murdering W. E. Strum, a 65-year-old white merchant, during a robbery on Oct. 7. The jury was out

for less than an hour.

The trial was held in Tarboro, the county seat, with Judge George M. Fountain, presiding.

The all-male jury failed to recommend mercy, which would have automatically made the sentence life imprisonment. Miss Hill had pleaded not guilty to first degree murder. Four members of the jury were black.

Arrested in Kingstree, S.C. on Oct. 25, where she was visiting relatives, Miss Hill was brought back to Rocky Mount by members of the local police depart-

ment to whom she allegedly confessed. She showed no emotion during the trial.

The prosecution is attempting to implicate three other teen-age girls as accessories, Marie Hill, Carolyn Fox and Bessie Wilkins, who lived in the vicinity of Strum's store.

Because the State Prison in Raleigh is not prepared to handle women sentenced to death, Miss Hill has been placed in a security cell at the Women's Division of the prison, which is also located in Raleigh.

## Cops Bust Mississippi Muslims

MEMPHIS, Miss. (LNS) — In Memphis, the cops recently used a search warrant for marijuana as an excuse to break open a residence where they suspected that a Black Muslim mosque was being organized. Although the cops found no marijuana, they imprisoned eight people for "investigation" and confiscated a quantity of Muslim literature. Religious freedom only applies to whites in Memphis and cops feel free to break into private homes, confiscate private property, and imprison citizens who are legally exercising their first amendment rights.



## Feature Article:



# BLACK CAPITALISM AND WHAT IT MEANS

By Landon Williams

While reading the paper the other day, I saw where Oakland has been made a target area for tricky Dick Nixon's BLACK CAPITALISM PLAN. It seems to me that a further analysis of capitalism in general and black capitalism in particular seems to be forthcoming. (When we check the history of various countries on this planet, we find that many nations and races have gone through a capitalistic hiccup. When we check Russian history we find that with the ending of the rule of the Czar, Russian capitalism came to an end. When we check the history of China and yellow capitalism we find that with the coming to power of Mao Tse-tung and the communist party of China, that feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism to which the yellow people in China were subjected had been crushed. When we check the history of other countries that have gone capitalistic, such as India and brown capitalism, we find that today India is in a constant state of turmoil.

I think that in viewing capitalist countries we should take into consideration the basic drives, motivations and the fundamental reasons for the things that occur in capitalistic countries. For instance, in checking the economy, we find that in capitalistic countries a high unemployment rate, sometimes 10%-15%, is not something spectacular, but rather that in order for a capitalist country to maintain a high level

economy this type of unemployment rate is essential as a check on inflation. In further checking on capitalism and how it is related to black people in this country, if we want to find out what capitalism has in store for us all we have to do is look around and dig on our present situation because the conditions that black people are in in this country is directly due to capitalism and the exploitation that we have suffered at the hands of the racist capitalist ruling classes here in racist America. We find that during the days of the slave trade, capitalist merchants along this country's Eastern seaboard got filthy rich off the blood, the tears and the sweat of black people who were transported in the bottoms of ships, packed like sardines, in this racist decadent country to work and slave and die in the fields to build this country.

Capitalism, as we all know, in order to exist must have something or someone to exploit. What we have here in America is super capitalism, super exploitation, trickery and heads are being sold to the people for exorbitantly high prices. In dealing with black capitalism or the title of it that we have experienced in this country by checking J. A. Rogers' 100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO we find that prior to the civil war there were small black capitalists in this country. These black capitalists to a certain extent enjoyed some of the

benefits and privileges of this country insofar as they were called free-men and as such they could own slaves and property. In checking through history we find that most of these freedmen or miniature black capitalists had no concern or feeling whatsoever for the rest of their black brothers and sisters and in many instances they were more brutal than the white slaveholders and blamed their brothers for keeping them from enjoying all the fruits of the white capitalist class. During the civil war when the North and the South supposedly fought to free the slaves we find that some of these black capitalists in that fight on the side of the confederacy to help maintain the exploitation over their black brothers. So when black people begin to see words such as capitalism it should appall them.

You see, we've been trained in this country so that whenever we see the word communist, for instance, most black people will be startled but yet they see the word capitalism and it more or less doesn't phase them at all. They just continue on, it's just an everyday word, it's something that they've come up around. But I think that if black people would stop and really check out that word capitalism and what capitalism means on an everyday basis, they would begin to be appalled by the word. Myself, when I saw this thing Oakland being made black capitalism to me that was a very very

terrifying thing because like I've said we've had examples of what capitalism has done.

Black people in this country must begin to form the correct concepts in their minds when they hear the word capitalism. In this country in schools the little training they do give us when they deal with America or capitalism they deal with democratic capitalism and they teach you about the democracy and not about the capitalism. The results are that when black people see the words "Oakland is in on black capitalism" immediately attitudes of the star spangled banner begin to play through their heads and they see the flag waving when what they should be seeing is the capitalizing of people of color in Viet Nam and the murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia by racist U.S. C.I.A. agents. Also when we think about capitalism we should think about our brothers and sisters in the Congo. There's a pamphlet called REVOLUTION IN THE CONGO which every black person in America should read and you will find out how capitalism operates. For instance when the U.S. intervened in the Congo and Patrice Lumumba, the people's choice for Premier, was murdered by that traitorous dog Tshombe who was a running dog for the U.S. and Belgian capitalists, and that five liberal Kennedy. At the time of the U.S. intervention there were large copper mines in Katanga and other

provinces in the Congo. There's a mine in the U.S. called Kennecott mines and they control most of the world's supply of copper. Well, at the time of the Congo intervention the supply of copper had begun to strip the demand and the price of copper had begun to drop. Well, these capitalists who sit up and control Chase Manhattan Bank and other large banks and industries made millions selling excess U.S. 10,000 lb. bombs to bomb the mining industry and the people of the Congo into rubble, thus beating down the competition.

In America today the capitalist businessmen and landlubber exploits you at the store and home and then at the same time he goes to church and preaches his big hypocritical pork chop takes down and talks about brotherhood and do unto others as you would have them do unto you. And when you ask him how does he justify this capitalist business practices he explains to you, he gives you the simple phrase that business is business. Well, I think we should take a very close look at just what is capitalism business. As I said in the Congo in 1960, in dropping 10,000 lb. bombs on black people there, Patrice Lumumba the capitalist in that country who ran the just yards were making millions of dollars by selling scrap iron and steel to the Japanese imperialists who were using an iron

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The Avaricious Businessmen Must Return their Looted Profits to the People, Breakfast for Children Is One Of the Means.

## Vallejo Church Rejects Breakfast For Children

As everyone well knows the Black Panther Party is sponsoring a Free Breakfast for Children to be held throughout the country.

But as everyone also knows every time the Black Panther Party takes a lead in serving the needs and desires of the Black community, villainous attempts are made to hinder our efforts. More and more we begin to see the rise of a new deceiver in the struggle. In this case, the Black, Black, Black pettybourgeoisie that calls us brother on one hand and is the arch of arch deceivers on the other hand. The Vallejo Chapter

of the Black Panther Party is in the midst of starting their Free Breakfast for Children, to be held in the community of Country Club Crest. Here again we have to deal with this brother man, lover of the MAN-kind and who cares little or nothing about the hunger sensations of Black children in the community in which he lives and has a \$50,000 church. On the other hand he sells cars for Long and Webb, one of the largest dealerships in town. (Cadillacs & Pontiacs). Preacher McGuire, practitioner for pig capitalism and marker of peaceful suffering (pan-

ger) has projected himself as a saint, smelly man, even having a street in the community of approximately 7,000 people, named after him. (McGuire Street). Mr. McGuire must be exposed to the people as a Black avaricious fool, who has turned his back to the Black community by denying one of his church, a place for the breakfast site. Then perhaps the people and the lord will investigate the motives of this avaricious agent of the gospel. This five preacher refuses to let hungry children break bread in the lord's domain, he is a mirror of the

reprobative individualistic capitalist. Imagine a minister of the house of the lord stating that "my own kids have plenty to eat and other parents can do the same thing." The only reason is, he has a good disguise, as minister of the lord and servant of the people.

The Black Panther Party, through study and investigation sees this man as an avaricious fool, exploiting the name of the lord as well as in the name of the MAN. Such inhuman people as this must be exposed and opposed. We recognize the conditions of this community as the same as

a million others. We also recognize that this type of front man for the avaricious businessman is as much the initiator and practitioner of the exploitive conditions as the pig himself. The Black Panther Party will not allow this man to let Black children go to school hungry or underfed because of his selfishness or any other avaricious christian hypocrite selfishness. The community will and must survive the stupidity of such fools.

Brother Jumbo  
Black Panther Party

## Breakfast For Children San Francisco Los Angeles

The Black Panther Party, San Francisco Branch is moving with Father Kennedy of Sacred Heart Parish to fulfill a need that exists within the Black Community, in particular. In order that young Black, third world youth, and the young of the exploited poor white working class, receive breakfast every morning, the Black Panther Party together with Father Kennedy have joined forces to make "Breakfast for Children" a reality. This program will start March 15, 1969.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO  
THE VANGUARD  
LONG LIVE THE MONSTER OF  
DEFENSE

For further information or donations contact:  
Breakfast for school children  
Sacred Heart Parish, 246 Fillmore  
Father Kennedy - 861-5450  
Black Panther Party, 1234 Fillmore  
Judy Williams - 861-3840  
Lucky Jenkins  
Lauryn Williams

### PANTHERS FEED PEOPLE

A new group, "The Los Angeles Friends of the Black Panthers", is being organized to help launch a hot breakfast for children project. This is a further implementation of the Panthers' 10-point program and relates to the exploited of ALL RACES. The plan, initiated by the Panthers in conjunction with local churches, is modeled on a similar service designed by the national headquarters in Oakland. Other new community programs for the "Brothers and sisters on the street" are now being discussed. All interested helpers are invited to meet and talk with leading Panthers about the new projects.

Saturday, March 8 - 1:00 PM  
Unholy Church, 1000  
Room  
8th and Vermont Avenues, Los Angeles

Donald Fread  
867-3371 (Dr. Othello)  
472-0723 (Secretary)







South Vietnamese Liberation Fighters Launch An Attack On the Enemy.

## YOUNG PEOPLE WANTED to sell THE BLACK PANTHER



The young man in the picture earned enough money in 3 weeks to buy the bike on which he is sitting. You can do the same or better.

Contact Black Panther Office in your area or  
The Black Panther National Office  
3106 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif.

Berkeley, Calif. ....	3106 Shattuck
Vallejo, Calif. ....	1024 Gateway St.
East Oakland, Calif. ....	7304 E. 14th St.
San Francisco, Calif. ....	1336 Fillmore St.
Sacramento, Calif. ....	2941 35th St.
Los Angeles, Calif. ....	4115 Central
Seattle, Wash. ....	1127 1/2 34th Ave.
Indianapolis, Ind. ....	113 W. 30th St.
Denver, Colo. ....	3401 Franklin St.
New York, N.Y. ....	1808A Fulton St. & 780 Nestrup
Jersey City, N.J. ....	384 Pacific Ave.
San Diego, Calif. ....	2608 Imperial Ave.
Omaha, Nebraska ....	3120 No. 24th St.
Detroit, Mich. ....	1438 Euclid
Baltimore, Md. ....	1209 N. Eden St.
Chicago, Ill. ....	2350 W. Madison
Richmond, Calif. ....	520 Bissel
Houston, Texas ....	7245 Scott (#253)
Roxbury, Mass. ....	375 Blue Hill Ave.
Newark, N.J. ....	321 Hawthorne Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. ....	1707 Widener Place
Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	806 Gearing Ave. & 84 Lafferty Ave.
Kansas City, Mo. ....	2223 Lydia
Minneapolis, Minn. ....	707 N. Sheridan Ave.
Fresno, Calif. ....	329 W. Myers

\*National Office (Contact National Office for locations of selected offices)



# "By Lifting Their Hands Against "Bunchy" And John They Lifted Their Hands Against The Best That Humanity Possesses"

"I'D RATHER BE WITHOUT THE SHAME"

John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, like seventeen other Panther brothers within the last 13 months, have proven their dedication to the cause of Black Liberation beyond any doubt.

It is a fact that "Knowledge begins with perception of the objective external world through man's physical sense organs". Many brothers and sisters who previously denied or ignored certain objective facts about "Pork-chop-cultural-nationalism" in general and the US organization in particular have now had the truth brought so forcefully home to them that they are finding it very hard to replace genuine knowledge (acquired through social practice with their old "standards brands" of apathy, indifference, head-in-the-sand-ism, "cloud-nine-ism", abstract blackness", Black Art, Black Culture, Black (b)-Aware-

business, and are in fact the front line troops of Capitalism in the Black Community.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is the champion of the status-quo and articulates a sensational, comical racism as a cover-up for counter-revolutionary politics and concrete economic issues. Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is a reactionary flight from armed struggle. It is loved dearly by the racist pigs of the power structure because it divides the oppressed and exploited workers on the basis of skin on the one hand and acts as the seed bed for Black Capitalism on the other. It may seem hard to believe that slaves would lay stock in the plantation which enslaves them but the uncle turning "house nigger" has existed since slavery's beginning.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism is much loved by some black men

but the boot-lickin' toms, these scurvy ass-blickin' Pork-chop Nationalists, are not men and they will never be anything but the political whores of the Pig Power Structure.

There may be some good brothers and sisters caught up in the cultural bull-shit. Only social practice (doing) can be the criterion of truth. It is quite conceivable that some within these ranks are suffering only from pale, hairless, scabby, empty heads. We can only hope that they have not already washed their hands in the blood of the masses, that their hair grows fast, and they get smart quick.

Pork-chop Cultural Nationalists are punks, sinners, cowards and down-and-out freaks. They may appear bold and are proven to be dangerous -- as tools of the Pig. They have never been men enough to be dangerous to the Pig. The



Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter



John Jerome Huggins

## Black Mother

I must confess that I still breathe though you are not yet free  
what could justify my crying start  
forgive my coward's heart  
— but blame me not the sheepish me  
for I have just awakened from a deep, deep, sleep  
and I be hazed, and dazed, and scared  
and vipers fester in my hair  
BLACK MOTHER I curse your drudging years  
the rapes, and heart-breaks, sweat and tears  
— but this cannot redeem the fact —  
you cried in pain, I turned my back  
and ran into the myers fog  
and watched while you were dogged  
and died a thousand deaths  
but I swear on seige night dark and gloom  
a rose I'll wear to honor you, and when I fall  
the rose in hand  
you'll be free and I a man  
for a slave of natural death who dies  
can't balance out to two dead flies  
I'd rather be without the shame  
a bullet lodged within my brain  
if I were not to reach our goal  
let bleeding cancer torment my soul.

ALPRENTICE "BUNCHY" CARTER

"Do Something, Nigger . . . If You Only Spit"

"A BULLET LODGED WITHIN MY BRAIN..."

The shame that the late Alprentice Bunchy Carter, Deputy Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party, talked about in his beautiful revolutionary poem "Black Mother" was the shame of a slave who dies of "natural death".

Natural death for slaves of 20th Century Babylon can come in many forms. It may be the natural death of a brother who "trips" his life away, while giving lip service to the revolutionary struggle until he ends up as a "justifiable homicide" in some racist pig cop's collection of dead niggers. It may be the death of a high flying, super-cool brother who is killed in a fall from "Cloud Nine", and ends up listed as an O.D.-D.O.A. (over-dose, Dead-on-arrival) in one of the buncher shops, jokingly referred to as "County Hospital"; or the creeping death that comes slowly creeping minutes to hours, hours to days, days to weeks, weeks to years on a humbug, behind bars. Death may come in Viet-Nam or Laos, for land that will never be his, or freedom he doesn't have here in the States. Death,

may come in Watts over a roll of beds or a roll of whites, or in Oakland over a ten dollar bag. Death may come to a slave in Fillmore over a woman that belongs to everyone and nobody; an intellectual slave may divorce himself from the masses and read himself into oblivion; a slave can spend his time fighting, fornicating and shooting dice and die hawking on the street. All these are the natural deaths that we see in the ghettos and suburbs everyday in a thousand and one hell-right ways.

This is what is meant by "Only Solid Practice can be the criterion of truth."  
Mao-Tse-Tung  
"Bunchy was a practitioner..."  
Bobby Seale  
"I'd rather be without the shame  
A bullet lodged within my brain..."  
Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

ness, Black Pride, Psychedelic bull-shit, abstract nigrand, worship, "Cultural (counter-revolutionary) Nationalism", or any other form of madness divorced from the concrete political/revolutionary practices.

A long, hard objective look at Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism and US organization's history may reveal more truth than many of our people would like at the present but look we must.

First, let us take a look at the theory of Pork-chop Cultural Nationalism. There is no such thing as a cultural revolution, divorced from economics, or prior to the onset of armed struggle, or any way divorced from armed struggle. Cultural Nationalism worship only the most reactionary aspects of African History. Most Cultural Nationalists are engaged in petty slavery, which they call small

because they can rant and rave and look ugly and fierce and not be forced to face the real enemy. The Pork-chop Cultural Nationalist like his "brother-in-practice", the racist pig cop, has Smith and Western guns and finds it very easy to attack the broad mass and Black or other revolutionary forces, the strong and brave warriors of the minority and are afraid to even think bad about the ruling class. The point is that many so-called men, who are in reality sinners, cowards and punks, know they are tomming for the Pig Power structure and think they have the double-dealing racist pigs on their side.

We on the side of the Black masses and other oppressed people know that "The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology", and that "The masses have boundless creative power."

class stand of the Pork-chop Cultural Nationalist is that of the petty bourgeois, the house niggers, the boot-lickers.

The semantic madness contained in most of the writings of buffoons like Ronald Everett and Le Roi Jones are useless. These niggers act like Black People never had any pride until they hit the scrap. That shows you how far they've been from the masses and for how long. Yet a Cultural Nationalist will attack anything with vigor if it threatens to release his captive audience from his tomb of ignorance. This is proven by the Pig Ron Everett's attack on China's Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung's Questionnaire, Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung is leading revolutionary movements through the world, and has proven its philosophy to all revolutionaries.



# Talent for the Revolution

By Frank Jones, Managing Editor

Many people have talents that could be extremely useful to the revolutionary movement that is now taking place, but for various reasons a great number of highly skilled individuals refuse to enter the struggle. Their hesitancy to enter the fight can be attributed to fear, apathy, ignorance, complacency, or any number of insufficient reasons which cannot serve as proper justification. We are all involved in the sociological processes of humanity, and all of us should make contributions to our efforts that seek to improve the conditions of that humanity. When we fail to contribute, we add to the inertia of social stagnation and thereby become a hindrance to any movement that attempts to motivate the benevolent nature of mankind.

The types and kinds of skills that can be useful to the world liberation movement are as varied as the skills that are employed in the complexity of this society. Whatever abilities that one may possess can be utilized by the movement, but to greatly increase the benefits that can be derived from an individual's contributions one important factor must be added to any and all skills. That factor is revolutionary ideology.

This is not intended to imply that the ideology is of greater importance than the ability because such is not the case. If one develops the ideology and has no skill, the ideology cannot be applied; and if one is highly skilled and has not the proper ideology, the skill could be improperly applied. Ability and ideology must be combined to make a completely revolutionary man.

In the BLACK PANTHER PARTY we have many complete revolutionaries, but this article will concentrate

on only one - our Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas. Emory has thrown himself with full force into the world liberation movement, and he has done so with consummate skill and highly developed revolutionary concepts. His combination of ability and ideology makes him a completely revolutionary man.

We are all familiar with the artistic ability that Emory possesses, but to really appreciate his devotion to the liberation movement, it is necessary to see his work. I have worked with Emory on a number of issues of the BLACK PANTHER and by doing so I have developed a much greater appreciation of Emory, the revolutionist, as well as Emory, the artist.

Because Emory has the desirable combination of ideology and ability, he is capable of applying his ability to the movement in a manner that is most efficacious. Emory, through his art, portrays revolutionary principles in a style that is easily conceived, and were it not for the directness of Emory's work, many of the ideas of the revolutionary movement would have escaped the attention and awareness of a large number of active revolutionary advocates. Emory's work is held in high esteem by dignitaries of the revolutionary element of the emerging nations of Africa who have been presented with Emory originals.

The phase of Emory's work with which I am most familiar is his layout work for the BLACK PANTHER. The eye-appeal of the BLACK PANTHER is a tremendous factor in influencing the circulation of the newspaper, and Emory is directly responsible for the new increase in circulation that can be attributed to the eye-appeal of the

paper's layout. There is no doubt that his work has been noticed, for I have received many undeserved compliments about the appearance of the paper when in fact all praise is due to Emory. The brother rightfully puts the paper together.

Emory's work on the paper is not limited to his artistic ability. His knowledge of world and national politics and his awareness of how geopolitical affairs affect the revolutionary movement have prevented a number of very harmful blunders from appearing in the BLACK PANTHER. In addition to preventing mistakes, Emory has been instrumental in ascertaining that items of a very timely nature appeared in recent issues of the paper. Again I want to emphasize that it is his combination of ideology and ability that makes Emory invaluable to the movement.

Emory is now planning to do a new series of posters for the revolutionary movement, and we plan to use simplified versions of his posters on the back cover. There is one difficulty that must be overcome before the new posters can be put into production - the problem of finances. Emory has given all to the movement in such a selfless manner that he has almost depleted his personal resources. We are hopeful that the many admirers of Emory's work and the many supporters of the movement will send contributions to allow Emory to buy supplies and continue his work. Please send contributions to Emory Douglas, c/o The Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif.



**EMORY DOUGLAS**  
MINISTER OF CULTURE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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## Cultural Nationalism Attacked In Emory Douglas Speech

This article is a reprint from Western Front newspaper - Washington State Peace and Freedom Party.

By Calvin Winslow

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was scheduled to speak February 1, at the Encore Ballroom. That afternoon the Panthers announced that Seale would not be able to make it to Seattle. Those who passed up the meeting, however, made a mistake.

Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the BPP, stood in for Seale and proved once again that the leadership of the BPP includes many of the most articulate, dedicated revolutionaries of our time.

The central issue raised in the meeting, discussed by both Douglas and Aaron Dixon, Seattle Panther Captain, was the recent assassination in Los Angeles of Alprentice Carter and John Huggins, L.A. Panther leaders. The Panthers have accused US, a cultural nationalist organization led by Ron Karenga, of killing "two beautiful black brothers in the prime of revolutionary life of serving our people."

US, based in Watts, has put forth the idea of uniting all black people, regardless of class or ideology, while at the same time accepting federal money and promoting black capitalism. That cultural nationalism has now become so blatantly counter-revolutionary should not be surprising. Huey Newton pointed out some time ago that blacks can easily be used by the

state to oppress their brothers. US has now turned its guns on the Panthers. This must certainly be another indication that the United States government spends its money carefully—the system can find its real enemies.

In declaring their opposition to cultural nationalism, the Panthers have increased the number of their enemies, but far more importantly, they have also rededicated themselves to serving the real interests of the people. Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalists will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor.

Emory Douglas said the Panthers will continue to organize the black community on a revolutionary basis. "The whole of Westwood (part of white Los Angeles, where UCLA is located) and where the two Panthers were assassinated," he added, "is not worth a few organized blocks of the Oakland flat beds." The Panthers now have over 80 branches and from each an ultimatum has been issued warning Karenga and his followers to stay away. Dixon added that Seattle was included.

For those who are still looking forward to hearing Bobby Seale, Dixon said that the Panthers plan to bring him to Seattle in the near future. Watch for the time.



# CRISIS AT COLUMBUS OHIO

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Jan. 29, 1969--Last year black students at Ohio State met almost daily with university administrators and faculty members to discuss the problems and grievances of OSU black students. These grievances related to the recruitment of black students, faculty members and administrators (of the over 3000 faculty members and administrators at OSU, less than 1% are black), Black history courses, housing discrimination (in Sept. '68 a student-faculty committee completed a survey of housing discrimination in the campus area and reported that "overt and significant discrimination was detected and documented in 129 or 66% of the available rental units surveyed"), more recruitment and better treatment of Black athletes, relevant placement of Black foreign students, and university recognition of National Negro History Week. But the black students achieved few results by "going through proper channels."

After university police man-handled several black women and university officials failed to take any action against those responsible, the April 26th administration building teach-in took place. A B.S.U. member announced that the administration building doors would be closed at 1:00, that anyone who was not willing to remain indefinitely should leave. However, people were permitted to enter and leave all afternoon. Over 200 persons, including both black and white students, faculty, ministers, and community leaders stayed in the building.

Negotiations were conducted throughout the day. After the administration conceded to several B.S.U. demands, the doors were unlocked.

The administration later claimed that since these agreements were made under coercion, it was not obliged to respect them. It did not honor its agreement to publish in the campus newspaper a list of programs to aid the black student or to have members of the black community represented on the committee investigating the police incident which led to the April 26th demonstration.

On April 27th, the Columbus Dispatch reported that "with the exception of a television cameraman who was forced to hand over his film, no incidents of violence or destruction were reported in the student



occupation." However, the local press later began a series of attacks against participants in the demonstration and was joined by members of the OSU Board of Trustees who made statements demanding that the "anarchists" be immediately expelled and that legal action be taken against them. The result was that out of the over 200 people in the administration building, 34 black students were indicted on four charges, including kidnapping, and, if convicted, they each face up to 305 years in jail.

Despite the recommendations of a faculty investigating committee that no students be dismissed, the university dismissed eight black students. No action — either in the courts or in the university — has been taken against any white students.

The university also responded with repressive demonstration rules which, in effect, outlaw any demonstration of which the administration disapproved. Ohio State President Novice Fawcett began this academic year by stating that OSU will not become a seaport for "exhibitionists" to display "their ludicrous and revolting self-expression."

Attempts to have the dismissed

students reinstated, the new demonstration rules repealed, the original B.S.U. demands acted upon, and good graces of the university used to influence the county prosecuting attorney to drop charges against the 34 black students have been unsuccessful. Besides President Fawcett's comment that he will not give in to "absurd" demands, the university's response has been one of silence.

The response of the OSU administration and the Columbus public officials in handling down these indictments is the most reactionary to be taken in dealing with legitimate campus dissent. It has been seen by Blacks as an attempt to "whitewash" 94 years of university negligence, indifference, and racism by a "legal lynching" of 34 black students.

As it stands to date, the two major charges — kidnapping and conspiracy to abduct — had been dropped, because of legal technicalities. They have since been revised, resubmitted and approved by a new Grand Jury, resulting in the same status as originally reported. The trial date has been set for April 7th.

## Reagan Says 'Eliminate Students'

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (UPI)—Statewide student unrest amounts to guerrilla warfare, said California Governor Ronald Reagan. The only way to stop it, he added, is to "eliminate" those who cause the trouble.

Reagan told a group from San Diego's Chamber of Commerce that the solution to guerrilla warfare is to eliminate and kill your enemy. He later modified his definition of "elimination" to "firing the faculty and expelling the students."

## LETTER FROM OHIO STATE

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I would like first of all to commend The Black Panthers for their efforts to secure national unity amongst the Black Students Union throughout this racist society. As you may realize the BLACK students on the WHITE campuses are in desperate need of a national B.S.U. IDENTITY PLAYS AN IMPORTANT PART IN DEVELOPMENT. Those of us who are isolated are lost! I am a student at Ohio State University, number one in football and damn near number one in overt racism and persecution.

At present my wife Jenny, and thirty-four other students (all black) are awaiting trial in Columbus, Ohio. They face sentences of 51-1/2 to 305 years of imprisonment for taking over the administration building (pig pen) on April 26, 1968. We are going to embark upon an all out amnesty campaign within the next few days. We have had a hard time gaining support in the black community because the fear of a white backlash. The retarded city of Columbus is saturated with racist pigs and Hooker Tons. We need all of the outside help we can get.

We have reorganized the Black Student Union in a military fashion. Rhetoric will get us nowhere. We feel that the Community (masses) are of top priority and are more valuable than the "self-centered" NEGRO student. Self-defense on the campus and in the city is the first order of the day. We hope all B.S.U. can see the importance of physical strength. We patrol the campus and are now going to expand into the Black community. We know what an ugly monster racism is, and we will not be destroyed by it. In the so-called take-over there were white students, faculty and ministers yet only the 34 black students were indicted. Thus we have analyzed the racist rationale of this filthy dog in Columbus, and ask all B.S.U. to be aware. The enemy is the same anywhere he is.

We are asking all B.S.U.'s and the BLACK PANTHER PARTY to give us support throughout the Black press.

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE  
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD  
Harry Anderson  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
SECURITY COUNCIL  
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY  
BLACK STUDENTS  
Rm. 308 Ohio Union  
Columbus, Ohio 43210

STRIKE POWER  
TO THE  
STUDENTS









SOUTHWEST AFRICA POLARIS CHRISTMAS MAP





















## October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

# What We Want What We Believe

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our own destiny.



### FREE HUEY

*Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party*

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.**

We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 180 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The victors murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the genocide of over fifty million black people, therefore, we feel that this just demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and maintain housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them; a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prologue. Indeed, will declare that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



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BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

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AT THE

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther Newspaper. Submit to:

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## RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as formulated by the laws of this party, CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STATES, and LOCAL STATES, including all capitans subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and state policy and rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WHEN VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these regulations by heart, and apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

## THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics in their possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from the party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings, and the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other arms force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or sword.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each sub-section leader, section leader, captain, etc., and Captain must submit daily reports of work.
16. All members must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All leadership personnel who expel a member must submit the information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general members ship.
19. Daily staff personnel assigned by respective officers each day should be three. All officers are to sell papers and do political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports covering to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Clinics.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two items per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty loans, money or any other aid from any government agency without consulting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapter.

9 POINTS OF  
ATTENTION

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or props of the poor, oppressed peoples.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF  
DISCIPLINE

1. obey orders in all your actions
2. Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking forces.





## SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P. 50)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Supreme Court order itself.

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Supreme Court vol. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is advised with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to keep in this 'veil of secrecy.'" (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

You, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair-minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherman puts it:

"... The uncontested evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The good to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his naive ignorance in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbefitting, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intensive publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention on this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. It is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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# BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

### CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length.  
12002 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12006 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12007 -- Persons exempt from Section 12002 includes members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12004 -- Except as provided in subdivision (b), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(b) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(i) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite.

12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the minor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custody or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding \$500.

### FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufactures, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined \$10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetents, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of \$10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a \$200 tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearms, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the \$200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

### THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any fully automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

## POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls—one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-0103 (845-0104), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

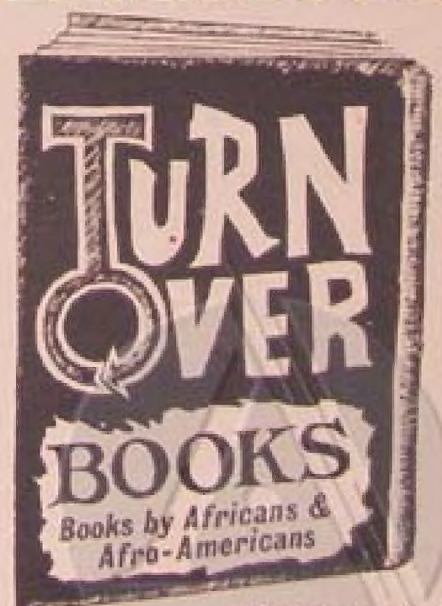
11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsman's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time elapses on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

## BLACK BOOKS



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**BREAKFAST FOR  
SCHOOL CHILDREN**

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with this revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community—mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racism oppresses us—are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3100 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Niel at these numbers: 534-5984, 893-1018. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Buckfield Smith at 899-8211 or sign up with other community people and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0101 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

**BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN**

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# Black Liberation Publishers Fill the Educational Gap

After more than a year of preparation and development, the book that thousands of people across the nation and around the world have awaited is finally ready to go onto the market.

Black Liberation Publishers proudly announces its "Collector's Edition" of The Black Curriculum-Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies by Sidney F. Walton, Jr. This "Collector's Edition" is being printed in a limited quantity (2000 copies to be exact) to finance the production of the "People's Edition" which will sell at popular prices that the masses can afford.

This first printing is rather rough expense-wise, but overcoming the economic effects of an oppressive white-controlled press is also rather rough expense-wise. Black Liberation Publishers urges you to have schools, colleges, churches, and other institutions buy the "Collector's Edition" which will be a collector's item in that it will pave the way for development of a Black Publishing company which will gear itself to the concept of Black COOPERATIVES which support Black Collective efforts rather than addressing itself to white-racist designed Black Capitalism which really is an attempt to further the process of divide and conquer among Black people and other ethnic minority peoples of the Third World.

Black Liberation Publishers was born on March 7, 1968 when a representative from a white publishing company became the third publisher to inform the author, Mr. Sid Walton, that it could not guarantee him that Black people would be employed along every step in the decision-making process related to the production of the book as well as having Black people employed to do the actual production work of the book.

Black Liberation Publishers represents a coalition of efforts of Black people with various skills in the graphic arts, i.e., presswork, lithography, camera work, etc. Thus, this book reflects a cooperative venture with Black people making the decisions concerning the actual production of The Black Curriculum book.

Black Liberation Publishers refuses to let white publishers continue the exploitation of Black writers. We are trying to keep the money in the Black community. It is our policy to use income from the sale of books to either purchase equipment which will enable us to mass produce materials and thus, be able to eventually reduce our cost per unit produced, or to apply the income to the production of other books and materials which will lead to the liberation of Black people and other members of the Third World.

We encourage revolutionary writers who have written solution oriented materials to send us copies of manuscript for consideration.

Some Issues and Questions that are dealt with and Answered in The Black Curriculum

1. People at Merritt College said it would take three years to get a transfer level course in Negro History accepted by the University of California. Sid Walton wasn't about to wait three years, so he got it done in one month and eleven days. You need to know how. It's in the book!
2. Merritt College was the first junior college in America to offer a program and a degree in Afro-American Studies.
3. Sid Walton has written a "no bullshit," down to earth, "nitty-gritty," document which will change education across the face of this racist nation! Once the masses get this book, no school or college will ever be the same! You need to know how! It's in the book!
4. You can't talk "revolution" and not use revolutionary methods. This is a revolutionary book by a revolutionary educator. This book could have easily been entitled Guidelines to Revolution in America.
5. It has been stated that "Without brain power, Black Power is only skin deep." The Black Curriculum develops the necessary brain power to make Black Power a reality.
6. Are you tired of meaningless rhetoric?
7. Have you found that it isn't enough just to "say it loud"?



Sid Walton

8. Have you found that just saying "Black is Beautiful" is empty unless you have conceptual and substantive background?

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**Order your copy of The Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies by Sidney F. Walton, Jr.**

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In the struggle,  
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